

## Message Text

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FM USDEL SECRETARY IN SEATTLE

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE

UNCLAS SECTION 1 OF 8 SECTO 19001

STATE FOR S/PRS: BROWN, AND M:EAGLEBURGER

WHITE HOUSE FOR SCOWCROFT AND NESSEN

E. O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.)

SUBJECT: SEATTLE SPEECH

FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF SECRETARY'S SEATTLE SPEECH "AMERICA AND ASIA", AS PREPARED FOR DELIVERY AT 1:15 PM PDT, JULY 22, 1976.

THIS TEXT WILL BE RELEASED BY DEPARTMENT AT NOON WASHINGTON TIME, EMBARGOED FOR TIME OF DELIVERY(4:15 EDT).

BEGIN TEXT:

AMERICA AND ASIA

A LITTLE MORE THAN TWO WEEKS AGO THIS NATION CELEBRATED ITS 200TH BIRTHDAY. IN THE PROCESS OF THAT CELEBRATION AMERICANS LEARNED THAT DESPITE THE AGONY, THE TURMOIL, AND THE CONSTITUTIONAL CRISIS OF THE LAST DECADE WE ARE STILL PROUD TO BE AMERICANS, AND STILL PROUD OF WHAT AMERICA MEANS TO THE WORLD. WE FELT ONCE AGAIN THAT OUR COUNTRY IS FREE, AND VIBRANT WITH LIFE AND CHANGE. WE SAW THAT TOLERANCE, AND HOPE AND DEDICATION ARE FAR MORE A PART OF THE AMERICAN NATIONAL CHARACTER TODAY THAN HATRED, DIVISION AND ESPAIR. TO THE GENERATION THAT CAME TO MATURITY IN THE LATE SIXTIES OR EARLY SEVENTIES, THESE TRUTHS MAY HAVE BEEN APPARENT FOR THE FIRST TIME. FOR MY GENERATION, IT WAS, RATHER A REMINDER OF BASIC VERITIES ABOUT AMERICA WHICH HAD BEEN IN DANGER OF BEING OBSCURED BY THE TURMOIL OF A DECADE. BUT FOR ALL OF US, OF WHATEVER GENERATION, IT WAS AN UPLIFTING EXPERIENCE.

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CERTAINLY THE EVENTS OF ONE CELEBRATION, HOWEVER INSPIRING,

CANNOT BY THEMSELVES SOLVE THE LONG-TERM PROBLEMS THAT OUR NATION WILL FACE IN ITS THIRD CENTURY. BUT THEY ILLUMINATE THE ROAD BEFORE US AS WE ENTER OUR ELECTORAL CAMPAIGN. THEY TELL US THAT IT IS TIME TO MOVE AWAY FROM THE COUNSELS OF TIMIDITY, FEAR AND RESENTMENT WHICH HAVE DONE SO MUCH TO CORRUPT OUR PUBLIC DIALOGUE.

OURS IS NOT A NATION BENT ON DOMINATION, AS WE WERE TOLD FOUR YEARS AGO. OURS IS NOT A NATION IN RETREAT, AS WE HAVE BEEN TOLD TOO OFTEN THIS YEAR. OURS IS A NATION WHICH UNDERSTANDS THAT AMERICA CANNOT BE AT PEACE IF THE WORLD IS AT WAR; THAT AMERICA CANNOT BE PROSPEROUS IF THE WORLD IS MIRED IN POVERTY; THAT AMERICA CANNOT BE TRUE TO ITS HERITAGE UNLESS IT STANDS WITH THOSE WHO STRIVE FOR FREEDOM AND HUMAN DIGNITY. IN SHORT, WE KNOW THAT OUR LIVES, LIBERTY AND PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS DEPEND ON THE WORLD IN WHICH WE LIVE, AND THAT AMERICA'S LEADERSHIP IS CRUCIAL TO SHAPING WHAT KIND OF WORLD THAT WILL BE. WE FACE TODAY, AS WE HAVE FOR SEVERAL YEARS, INTERNATIONAL CONDITIONS QUITE UNLIKE THOSE KNOWN BY EARLIER GENERATIONS OF AMERICANS. WE HAVE DESIGNED A FOREIGN POLICY CAPABLE OF MASTERING THOSE NEW CHALLENGES; A FOREIGN POLICY FOR THE LAST QUARTER OF THE 20TH CENTURY BASED ON FOUR PROPOSITIONS:

--FIRST, AMERICAN STRENGTH IS ESSENTIAL TO THE PACE OF THE WORLD AND TO THE SUCCESS OF OUR DIPLOMACY. WE SHOULD NOT BEMUSE OURSELVES WITH FALSE CHOICES BETWEEN DEFENSE OR DOMESTIC NEEDS, BETWEEN SECURITY OR SOCIAL JUSTICE. UNLESS WE PURSUE ALL THESE OBJECTIVES WE ARE LIKELY TO ACHIEVE NONE OF THEM. SECURITY CANNOT BE THE SOLE GOAL OF OUR POLICY, BUT NO OTHER ACHIEVEMENTS CAN ENDURE WITHOUT IT.

--SECOND OUR ALLIANCES WITH THE GREAT DEMOCRACIES NORTH AMERICA, WESTERN EUROPE, AND ASIA ARE THE BEDROCK AND THE TOP PRIORITY OF OUR FOREIGN POLICY.

--THIRD, IN AN AGE OF THERMONUCLEAR WEAPONS AND STRATEGIC BALANCE, WE HAVE A MORAL AS WELL AS A POLITICAL OBLIGATION TO STRIVE MIGHTILY TOWARDS THE OVERRIDING GOAL OF PEACE. WE ARE READY TO USE OUR STRENGTH TO RESIST BLACKMAIL OR PRESSURE; WE MUST ALSO BE PREPARED TO NEGOTIATE LONG-STANDING DISPUTES, FOSTER HABITS OF MODERATION

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AND DEVELOP MORE CONSTRUCTIVE TIES WITH POTENTIAL ADVERSARIES. THE AMERICAN PEOPLE AND THE PEOPLE OF THE WORLD ASK FOR A PEACE MORE SECURE THAN A BALANCE OF TERROR CONSTANTLY BEING CONTESTED.

--FOURTH, SECURITY AND PEACE ARE THE FOUNDATION FOR ADDRESSING THE POSITIVE ASPIRATIONS OF PEOPLES. PROSPERITY, HUMAN RIGHTS, PROTECTING THE ENVIRONMENT, ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL

ADVANCE, CULTURAL EXCHANGE HAVE BECOME MAJOR CONCERNS OF INTERNATIONAL DIPLOMACY. IN THESE SPHERES, THE DESTINIES OF NATIONS ARE INTERDEPENDENT, AND A WORLD OF ORDER AND PROGRESS REQUIRES NEW FORMS OF COOPERATION AMONG ALL NATIONS--RICH AND POOR, INDUSTRIALIZED AND DEVELOPING.

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FM USDEL SECRETARY IN SEATTLE  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE

UNCLAS SECTION 2 OF 8 SECTO 19001

STATE FOR S/PRS:BROWN, AND M:EAGLEBURGER

WHITE FOR SCOWCROFT AND NESSEN

WE WANT OUR CHILDREN TO LIVE IN A WORLD OF GREATER PEACE AND JUSTICE. WE WANT THEM TO HAVE THE OPPORTUNITY TO APPLY THEIR OWN GENIUS, IN THEIR OWN TIME, TO THE BETTERMENT OF MANKIND. TO DO SO WE, IN OUR TIME, MUST HELP SHAPE AN INTERNATIONAL ORDER THAT WELCOMES THE PARTICIPATION OF ALL NATIONS AND RESPONDS TO THE DEEPEST CONCERNS OF ALL PEOPLES.

WE HAVE COME A LONG WAY ALREADY. WE ARE AT PEACE FOR THE FIRST TIME IN MORE THAN 15 YEARS. OUR COLLABORATION WITH THE GREAT INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACIES IS STEADILY EXPANDING INTO NEW FIELDS, WHILE ITS FUNDAMENTAL BASIS IS STRONGER THAN IT HAS BEEN IN YEARS. WE HAVE MADE PROGRESS TOWARDS PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST, AND, PARTLY BECAUSE OF OUR UNIQUE ROLE THERE, THE ELEMENTS FOR MAJOR NEW ADVANCES EXIST. IN ASIA, WE HAVE--AS I WILL DISCUSS IN GREATER DETAIL--SOLIDIFIED OUR TIES WITH BOTH OUR FRIENDS AND OUR POTENTIAL ADVERSARIES. HERE IN THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE, WE ARE BUILDING A NEW RELATIONSHIP BASED ON EQUALITY AND MUTUAL RESPECT. WE HAVE INAUGURATED A HOPEFUL NEW POLICY IN AFRICA. AND WITH RESPECT TO THE SOVIET UNION WE HAVE COMBINED A DETERMINATION TO RESIST EXPANSION WITH A READINESS TO BUILD RELATIONS ON A MORE STABLE AND LASTING BASIS--WE ARE, AND WILL BE, CONCILIATORY

BUT VIGILANT.

THE PEOPLE OF THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST HARDLY NEED TO BE TOLD  
OF THE STRENGTH OR ROLE OF AMERICA. YOURS IS A REGION BUT RECENTLY  
CARVED FROM A WILDERNESS BY MEN AND WOMEN OF COURAGE AND VISION.  
HERE THE PIONEER SPIRIT THAT IS SO MUCH A PART OF OUR HISTORY LIVES  
ON, AND FROM HERE AMERICA LOOKS OUT ACROSS THE PACIFIC TOWARD  
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THE NATIONS--NEW AND OLD--OF ASIA.  
AND IT IS AMERICA'S RELATIONS WITH ASIA THAT I WOULD LIKE  
TO DISCUSS WITH YOU TODAY.  
THE ASIAN DIMENSION

NO REGION IN THE WORLD IS MORE DYNAMIC, MORE DIVERSE,  
OR MORE COMPLEX THAN ASIA:

--IN THE PAST GENERATION AMERICANS HAVE FOUGHT  
THREE MAJOR WARS IN ASIA. WE HAVE LEARNED THE  
HARD WAY THAT OUR OWN SAFETY AND WELLBEING DEPEND  
UPON PEACE IN THE PACIFIC, AND THAT PEACE CANNOT BE  
MAINTAINED UNLESS WE PLAY AN ACTIVE PART.

--OUR PROSPERITY IS INEXTRICABLY LINKED TO THE ECONOMY  
OF THE PACIFIC BASIN. LAST YEAR OUR TRADE WITH ASIAN  
NATIONS EXCEEDED OUR TRADE WITH EUROPE. ASIAN  
RAW MATERIALS FUEL OUR FACTORIES; ASIAN MANUFACTURERS  
SERVE OUR CONSUMERS; ASIAN MARKETS OFFER OUTLETS  
FOR OUR EXPORTS AND INVESTMENT OPPORTUNITIES FOR  
OUR BUSINESS COMMUNITY.

--AND OUR TIES WITH ASIA HAVE A UNIQUE HUMAN DIMENSION.  
FOR GENERATIONS AMERICANS HAVE SUPPLIED AN IMPULSE  
FOR CHANGE IN ASIAN SOCIETIES; ASIAN CULTURE AND  
IDEAS IN TURN HAVE TOUCHED OUR OWN INTELLECTUAL,  
ARTISTIC, AND SOCIAL LIFE DEEPLY.

AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY HAS KNOWN BOTH GREAT ACCOMPLISHMENT  
AND BITTER DISAPPOINTMENT IN ASIA. AFTER WORLD WAR II WE SOUGHT  
ABOVE ALL TO CONTAIN COMMUNIST EXPANSION. WE ESSENTIALLY SUCCEEDED.  
WE FORGED A CLOSE ALLIANCE WITH DEMOCRATIC JAPAN. WE AND OUR  
ALLIES ASSISTED SOUTH KOREA IN DEFEATING AGGRESSION. WE PROVIDED  
FOR THE ORDERLY TRANSITION OF THE PHILIPPINES TO FULL INDEPENDENCE.  
WE STRENGTHENED THE TIES WITH AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND THAT  
HAD BEEN FORGED AS ALLIES IN TWO WARS. WE SPURRED THE DEVELOP-  
MENT OF THE PACIFIC BASIN INTO A ZONE OF REMARKABLE ECONOMIC  
VITALITY AND GROWTH.

BY THE LATE 1960'S, HOWEVER, OLD POLICIES CONFRONTED NEW  
REALITIES; AMERICAN DISENCHANTMENT WITH A WAR WE WOULD NOT  
WIN AND COULD NOT END; ACUTE RIVALRY BETWEEN THE MAJOR COMMUNIST  
POWERS; AND ABOVE ALL JAPAN'S BURGEONING POWER AND PROSPERITY.  
IT WAS BECOMING APPARENT THAT OUR COMMITMENTS IN ASIA TOO OFTEN  
DICTATED OUR INTERESTS; THAT WE SOMETIMES ACTED AS THOUGH OUR  
STAKE IN OUR ALLIES' SECURITY WAS GREATER THAN THEIR OWN; THAT  
ESTRANGEMENT WITH CHINA NO LONGER SERVED EITHER NATIONS'  
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INTERESTS NOR THE CAUSE OF GLOBAL STABILITY; THAT OUR ECONOMIC DEALINGS NOT INFREQUENTLY RESEMBLED PATRON-CLIENT RELATIONSHIPS. THROUGHOUT THE FIRST HALF OF THIS DECADE, THEREFORE, WE HAVE BEEN FASHIONING A NEW POLICY FOR ASIA. WE HAVE BEEN BRINGING OUR COMMITMENTS INTO BALANCE WITH OUR INTERESTS. WE HAVE HELPED OUR ALLIES AND FRIENDS AUGMENT THEIR OWN STRENGTH, WHILE WE HAVE GRADUALLY REDUCED OUR OWN MILITARY PRESENCE IN ASIA BY 130 THOUSAND MEN IN ADDITION TO THE 550 THOUSAND TROOPS WE WITHDREW FROM VIETNAM. WE HAVE STRENGTHENED OUR RELATIONS WITH JAPAN, BEGUN A NEW RELATIONSHIP WITH THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA, AND SEARCHED FOR POLITICAL SOLUTIONS TO ASIAN REGIONAL CONFLICTS. WE HAVE ENCOURAGED ASIAN NATIONS IN THEIR SELF-RELIANCE, AND IN THEIR EFFORTS AT REGIONAL COOPERATION. WE HAVE WELCOMED ASIAN NATIONS IN NEW MULTILATERAL EFFORTS TO IMPROVE THE GLOBAL ECONOMIC SYSTEM.

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FM USDEL SECRETARY IN SEATTLE  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE

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STATE FOR S/PRS:BROWN, AND M:EAGLEBURGER

WHITE HOUSE FOR SCOWCROFT AND NESSEN

WHILE A GREAT DEAL HAS BEEN ACCOMPLISHED, ASIA REMAINS A REGION OF POTENTIAL TURBULENCE. THE COLLAPSE OF VIETNAM LAST YEAR PRODUCED CONCERN ABOUT A MORE GENERAL AMERICAN RETREAT FROM ASIA. HAPPILY, SUCH FEARS HAVE SUBSIDED, LARGELY BECAUSE AMERICAN POLICY HAS BUTTRESSED THE INHERENT STRENGTH AND RESILIENCE OF THE NATIONS OF ASIA. BUT THERE ARE NO GROUNDS FOR COMPLACENCY. SOVIET ACTIVITY IN ASIA IS GROWING. NORTH AND SOUTH KOREA REMAIN

LOCKED IN BITTER CONFRONTATION. HANOI REPRESENTS A NEW CENTER OF POWER AND ITS ATTITUDE TOWARD ITS NEIGHBORS REMAINS AMBIGUOUS AND POTENTIALLY THREATENING. MOST DEVELOPING NATIONS REMAIN AFFLICTED BY SOCIAL AND POLITICAL TENSIONS. AND THE SCRAMBLE FOR OIL AND OCEAN RESOURCES RAISES THE SPECTER OF POSSIBLE FUTURE TERRITORIAL DISPUTES.

MUCH WILL DEPEND ON OUR ACTIONS AND ON THE CONFIDENCE OF ASIAN NATIONS IN OUR STEADINESS. INDEED, ALL THE STRANDS OF OUR GLOBAL POLICY MEET IN ASIA:

--PEACE IN ASIA IS CRUCIAL FOR GLOBAL PACE.

--THE NEED TO RESOLVE CONFLICTS AND TO EASE TENSIONS IS NOWHERE MORE ACUTE THAN IN ASIA.

--AND THE EFFORT TO SHAPE NEW PATTERNS OF INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION HOLDS GREAT PROMISE IN ASIA WHERE THE DEVELOPING NATIONS ARE AMONG THE WORLD'S MOST DYNAMIC AND SELF-RELIANT.

LET ME NOW DISCUSS EACH OF THESE CHALLENGES IN TURN.

ASIAN SECURITY

FIRST, THE PROBLEM OF SECURITY IN ASIA.

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ALL THE WORLD'S MAJOR POWERS--THE UNITED STATES, JAPAN, CHINA, THE SOVIET UNION, WESTERN EUROPE--HAVE SIGNIFICANT INTERESTS IN ASIA. ALL WOULD BE DIRECTLY AFFECTED BY CONFLICT THERE. YET THE SECURITY OF NONE OF THESE POWERS IS DETERMINED EXCLUSIVELY--AND IN SOME CASES NOT EVEN PRIMARILY--BY EVENTS IN ASIA. THEREFORE, NO NATION SHOULD BELIEVE THAT IT CAN ENHANCE ITS SECURITY BY DEFLECTING

CONFLICTS FROM ONE CONTINENT TO ANOTHER. IF THE EUROPEAN BALANCE IS UPSET, OUR SECURITY AND THE SECURITY OF ASIAN COUNTRIES WILL BE AFFECTED. IF THE ASIAN BALANCE IS JEOPARDIZED, SERIOUS REPERCUSSIONS WILL BE FELT IN EUROPE. NEITHER IN EUROPE NOR IN ASIA CAN WE PERMIT OTHERS TO DICTATE OUR DESTINY OR THE DESTINY OF THOSE WHOSE INDEPENDENCE IS OF CONCERN TO US.

SECURITY POLICY FOR ASIA MUST THEREFORE BE FORMED IN GLOBAL TERMS. YET ITS REQUIREMENTS ARE UNIQUELY COMPLEX. IN EUROPE TWO ALLIANCE SYSTEMS FACE EACH OTHER DIRECTLY ACROSS A CLEAR LINE DRAWN DOWN THE CENTER OF CONTINENT. THE PRINCIPAL DANGER IS EXTERNAL ATTACK BY ORGANIZED MILITARY FORCES. THE STRENGTHS AND WEAKNESSES OF BOTH SIDES ARE RELATIVELY CALCULABLE. IN ASIA THE BALANCE IS MORE MULTIPLE AND FLUID. THE FOCAL POINT IS NOT SOLELY BETWEEN EAST AND WEST; IT INCLUDES THE CONTENTION BETWEEN

THE TWO MAJOR COMMUNIST POWERS. AND THE THREATS ARE HIGHLY DIVERSE. IN SOME AREAS, SUCH AS KOREA, THE PRINCIPAL DANGER LIES IN ARMED ATTACK ACROSS AN ESTABLISHED FRONTIER. IN OTHERS, SUCH AS SOUTHEAST ASIA THE MORE IMMEDIATE THREATS INVOLVE INSURGENCY. GOVERNMENTS CONFRONT THE DIFFICULT CHALLENGE OF NATION BUILDING. MOST ARE BURDENED BY COMPLEX SOCIAL PROBLEMS ARISING FROM RELIGIOUS,

RACIAL, AND CULTURAL DIFFERENCES. VIRTUALLY ALL MUST CONTEND WITH  
ARMED DISSIDENTS WHO ARE FREQUENTLY READY TO ACCEPT OUTSIDE  
ASSISTANCE.

AS PRESIDENT FORD STATED IN HONOLULU LAST DECEMBER, THE  
INCHPIN OF OUR ASIAN SECURITY EFFORT MUST BE A STRONG AND BALANCED  
U.S. MILITARY POSTURE IN THE PACIFIC. ONLY IF WE ARE PERCEIVED TO  
BE CLEARLY CAPABLE OF SUPPORTING FRIENDS CAN WE DISCOURAGE  
AGGRESSION AGAINST THEM. ONLY BY SHOWING THAT WE UNDERSTAND THE  
NECESSITIES OF THE REGIONAL BALANCE OF POWER CAN WE ENCOURAGE FREE  
COUNTRIES TO SEE TO THEIR SELF-DEFENSE. TO THE EXTENT THAT THE NATIONS

OF ASIA ACHIEVE A MARGIN OF SECURITY THE POLITICAL FORCES THAT STAND  
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FOR  
DEMOCRACY AND HUMAN LIBERTY ARE ENCOURAGED. BY THE SAME TOKEN  
UNILATERAL WITHDRAWALS FROM ASIA DIMINISH OUR SECURITY AS WELL AS  
OUR INFLUENCE EVEN OVER THE DOMESTIC EVOLUTION OF FRIENDLY COUNTRIES.  
IT GOES WITHOUT SAYING THAT AN AMERICAN COMMITMENT IS VITAL  
ONLY IF IS PERCEIVED TO BE AS MUCH IN THE INTEREST OF OUR ALLIES AS  
OF OURSELVES. NO NATION SHOULD CONDUCT ITS POLICY UNDER THE  
ILLUSION THAT IT IS DOING THE UNITED STATES A FAVOR BY PERMITTING US  
TO CONTRIBUTE TO ITS DEFENSE. THOSE WHO SEEK TO ADJUST THEIR DEFENSE  
RELATIONSHIPS WITH US WILL FIND US PREPARED TO ACCOMMODATE THEIR  
DESIRES IN A SPIRIT OF RECIPROCITY.

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE

UNCLAS SECTION 4 OF 8 SECTO 19001

STATE FOR S/PRS:BROWN, AND M:EAGLEBURGER

WHITE HOUSE FOR SCOWCROFT AND NESSEN

AT THE SAME TIME LET THERE BE NO DOUBT ABOUT THIS ADMINISTRATION'S FIRMNESS WITH REGARD TO OUR TREATY COMMITMENTS. ALLIES NEEDING OUR SUPPORT WILL FIND US CONSTANT; ADVERSARIES TESTING OUR RESOLUTION WILL FIND US STEADFAST. IT IS NOT POSSIBLE TO ENUMERATE ALL OUR SECURITY INTERESTS IN ASIA IN ONE SPEECH. LET ME THEREFORE DISCUSS THREE AREAS OF SPECIAL IMPORTANCE OR COMPLEXITY; JAPAN, KOREA AND SOUTHEAST ASIA. NO RELATIONSHIP IS MORE IMPORTANT TO THE UNITED STATES THAN OUR ALLIANCE WITH JAPAN. MUTUAL SECURITY REMAINS FUNDAMENTAL TO OUR COLLABORATION, BUT IN A NEW ERA WE HAVE EXTENDED OUR PARTNERSHIP TO A BROAD RANGE OF COMMON INTERESTS, EASING TENSIONS IN ASIA, SOLVING REGIONAL AND GLOBAL PROBLEMS AND COMBINING OUR VAST ECONOMIC STRENGTHS TO SPUR STABLE AND NON-INFLATIONARY WORLD ECONOMIC GROWTH.

IN THE EARLY 1970'S JAPAN AND THE UNITED STATES PASSED THROUGH AN INEVITABLE PERIOD OF ADJUSTMENT FROM DEPENDENCE AND AMERICAN PREDOMINANCE TO EQUALITY AND MUTUAL RESPONSIBILITY. THERE WERE FRICTIONS OVER TEXTILES AND MONETARY POLICIES AND OVER THE TIMING OF OUR ESSENTIALLY PARALLEL CHINA POLICIES. BUT THESE DIFFICULTIES HAVE BEEN OVERCOME; THEY PROVED TO BE THE GROWING PAINS OF A MORE MATURE AND EQUAL RELATIONSHIP. TODAY OUR RELATIONS WITH JAPAN ARE BETTERN THAN THEY HAVE EVER BEEN. THERE ARE NO SIGNIFICANT BILATERAL DISPUTES. WE HAVE DEVELOPED A CLEARER COMMON PERCEPTION OF OUR SECURITY REQUIREMENTS, WHICH WILL BE FURTHER ENHANCED BY THE RECENTLY FORMED JOINT COMMITTEE ON DEFENSE COOPERATION. WE HAVE INJECTED GREATER BALANCE AND RECIPROCITY INTO OUR ECONOMIC

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RELATIONS. WE HAVE LEARNED TO IDENTIFY AND DEAL WITH POTENTIAL DIFFICULTIES BEFORE THEY BECOME POLITICALLY EXPLOSIVE. WE HAVE CONSULTED WITH GREATER FREQUENCY AND FRANKNESS AND IN GREATER DEPTH THAN IN ANY PREVIOUS PERIOD. BOTH NATIONS ARE DISPLAYING SENSITIVITY TO THE INTANGIBLES OF OUR RELATIONSHIP, AND HAVE BUILT A WIDE BASE OF PUBLIC SUPPORT FOR CLOSER COOPERATION. OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH JAPAN PLAYS A CENTRAL ROLE IN FURTHERING STABILITY AND PROGRESS IN ASIA AND THE WORLD. OUR SECURITY RELATIONSHIP IS CRUCIAL FOR THE GLOBAL BALANCE OF POWER. JAPAN IS OUR LARGEST OVERSEAS TRADING PARTNER. EACH OF US SEEKS TO IMPROVE RELATIONS WITH MOSCOW AND PEKING; TO EASE TENSIONS IN KOREA; TO ENCOURAGE A STABLE POLITICAL EVOLUTION IN SOUTHEAST ASIA. EACH OF US COOPERATES IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF EFFECTIVE INTERNATIONAL EFFORTS TO PROMOTE STABLE ECONOMIC GROWTH, STRENGTHEN BONDS AMONG THE INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACIES, AND SHAPE MORE POSITIVE TIES BETWEEN THE INDUSTRIAL AND DEVELOPING COUNTRIES. JAPAN AND THE UNITED STATES SHARE A COMMON DEDICATION TO THE PRINCIPLES OF DEMOCRACY. AND SO, CLOSE CONSULTATION ON KEY REGIONAL AND GLOBAL ISSUES IS AT THE HEART OF OUR RESPECTIVE POLICIES



THE UNITED STATES WILL MAKE EVERY EFFORT TO STRENGTHEN THESE BONDS. AMERICANS FOUGHT AND DIED TO PRESERVE SOUTH KOREA'S INDEPENDENCE. OUR EXPRIENCE AND OUR SACRIFICE DEFINE OUR STAKE IN THE PRESERVATION OF THIS HARD-WON STABILITY; TREATY OBLIGATIONS OF MUTUAL DEFENSE DEFINE OUR LEGAL OBLIGATIONS. OUR SUPPORT AND ASSISTANCE WILL BE AVAILABLE WHERE IT HAS BEEN PROMISED. IN FULFILLING OUR COMMITMENTS WE WILL LOOK TO SOUTH KOREA TO ASSUME THE PRIMARY RESPONSIBILITY FOR ITS OWN DEFENSE, ESPECIALLY IN MANPOWER. AND WE WILL CONTINUE TO REMIND THE SOUTH KOREAN GOVERNMENT THAT RESPONSIVENESS TO THE POPULAR WILL AND SOCIAL JUSTICE ARE ESSENTIAL IF SUBVERSION AND EXTERNAL CHALLENGE ARE TO BE RESISTED. BUT WE SHALL NOT FORGET THAT OUR ALLIANCE WITH SOUTH KOREA IS DEIGNED TO MEEET AN EXTERNAL THREAT WHICH AFFECTS OUR OWN SECURITY, AND THAT OF JAPAN AS WELL. DIFFICULT AS THE SITUATION STILL REMAINS IN KOREA, IT IS THE FRIENDLY NATIONS OF SOUTH EAST ASIA THAT, IN THE WAKE OF INDOCHINA, ARE FACING THE GREATEST ADJUSTMENT TO NEW CONDITIONS.

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FM USDEL SECRETARY IN SEATTLE  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE

UNCLAS SECTION 5 OF 8 SECTO 19001

STATE FOR S/PRS:BROWN, AND M:EAGLEBURGER

WHITE HOUSE FOR SCOWCROFT AND NESSEN

NATIONS WHICH ONCE LOOKED TO US FOR THEIR SECURITY ALMOST EXCLUSIVELY HAVE BEEN FORCED BY EVENTS INTO GREATER SELF-RELIANCE AND BROADER COOPERATION AMONG EACH OTHER. THE MEMBERS OF THE ASSOCIATION OF SOUTHEAST ASIAN NATIONS--THE PHILIPPINES, INDONESIA, THAILAND, MALAYSIA, AND SINGAPORE--ARE DETERMINED TO PRESERVE THEIR INDEPENDENCE BY HASTENING THE PACE OF REGIONAL CONSOLIDATION. ALL FACE SERIOUS PROBLEMS THAT ENDEMIC TO THE PROCESS OF DEVELOPMENT; ALL SEEK TO SUSTAIN AND EXPAND THEIR

RELATIONS WITH US; ALL HOPE THAT WE WILL RETAIN AN ACTIVE INTEREST IN THEIR DESTINY.

PRESIDENT FORD, IN HIS SPEECH IN HONOLULU LAST DECEMBER, AND IN HIS VISITS TO THE PHILIPPINES AND INDONESIA, AFFIRMED OUR CONTINUING INTEREST IN THE WELL-BEING AND SAFETY OF SOUTH EAST ASIA. WE SHALL ENCOURAGE THE EFFORTS OF THE ASEAN COUNTRIES TO BOLSTER THEIR INDEPENDENCE; WE WELCOME SOUTH EAST ASIAN REGIONAL COOPERATION. CLEARLY OUR EFFORT CANNOT SUBSTITUTE FOR, BUT ONLY SUPPLEMENT REGIONAL EFFORTS. BUT WE ARE PREPARED TO CONTINUE TO PROVIDE MILITARY ASSISTANCE, THOUGH WITH GREATER EMPHASIS ON CASH AND CREDIT SALES. WE WILL, AS WELL, MAINTAIN OUR MILITARY PRESENCE IN THE WESTERN PACIFIC, ESPECIALLY OUR MOBILE NAVAL AND AIR POWER. WE ARE IN THE PROCESS OF NEGOTIATING A NEW BASE AGREEMENT WITH THE PHILIPPINES. WE WILL PROMOTE NEW PATTERNS OF ECONOMIC COOPERATION. AND WE WILL COOPERATE WITH ASEAN COUNTRIES, CONSISTENT WITH THEIR OWN INITIATIVES AND CONCEPTS.

EASING TENSIONS TO STRENGTHEN PEACE

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SECOND, LET ME TURN TO THE PROBLEM OF EASING TENSIONS. IN THE THERMONUCLEAR AGE, WE HAVE NO MORE IMPORTANT OBLIGATION THAN TO PUSH BACK THE SHADOW OF NUCLEAR CONFRONTATION. IF CRISES OCCUR, THEY MUST NOT RESULT FROM ANY LAPSE OF VISION ON OUR PART. ACCOMMODATION WITHOUT STRENGTH OR PRINCIPLE LEADS TO APPEASEMENT; BUT IN THE THERMONUCLEAR AGE, RELIANCE ON POWER--NOT COUPLED WITH A SPIRIT OF CONCILIATION--CAN SPELL CATASTROPHE FOR ALL OF MANKIND.

THUS THE UNITED STATES, IN CONCERT WITH ITS ALLIES, SEEKS TO REACH BEYOND SECURITY TOWARDS BETTER RELATIONS--BASED ON STRICT RECIPROCITY AND PRINCIPLE--WITH FORMER OR POTENTIAL ADVERSARIES. NO NATION IS MORE IMPORTANT TO THIS PROCESS THAN THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA. TOGETHER WE HAVE TURNED A DRAMATIC NEW PAGE, FOLLOWING A GENERATION OF MUTUAL SUSPICION AND HOSTILITY. THERE HAVE LONG BEEN DEEP SENTIMENTAL ATTACHMENTS BETWEEN THE AMERICAN AND THE CHINESE PEOPLES WHICH HAVE PROVIDED AN IMPORTANT BOND BETWEEN OUR TWO NATIONS EVEN IN THE MOST DIFFICULT TIMES. BUT IT WAS MUTUAL NECESSITY THAT IMPELLED US BOTH TO LAUNCH A FRESH BEGINNING IN 1969. OUR SHARED CONCERN THAT THE WORLD REMAIN FREE FROM DOMINATION BY MILITARY FORCE OR BLACKMAIL--"HEGEMONY" AS WE HAVE DESCRIBED IT IN OUR VARIOUS COMMUNIQUE--PROVIDED THE STRATEGIC FOUNDATION FOR A NEW RELATIONSHIP. THIS MUTUAL INTEREST CONTINUES AND IS THE BASIS FOR DURABLE AND GROWING TIES. BOTH SIDES DERIVE BENEFITS FROM CONSTRUCTIVE RELATIONS--IMPROVED PROSPECTS FOR MAINTAINING A GLOBAL EQUILIBRIUM, REDUCED DANGERS OF CONFLICT IN ASIA, MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL TRADE AND CULTURAL EXCHANGES AND EXPANDED POSSIBILITIES FOR COOPERATIVE OR PARALLEL ACTION ON SPECIFIC GLOBAL ISSUES. WE HAVE MADE SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS IN IMPROVING RELATIONS WITH CHINA OVER THE PAST SEVERAL YEARS. WE HAVE ESTABLISHED LIAISON OFFICES IN

EACH OTHER'S CAPITALS. WE HAVE INCREASED TRADE AND PROMOTED EXCHANGES. FREQUENT AND WIDE RANGING TALKS WITH CHINESE LEADERS--INCLUDING VISITS BY TWO AMERICAN PRESIDENTS AND MANY CONGRESSIONAL DELEGATIONS--HAVE DEEPEND OUR MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING. ON SOME INTERNATIONAL ISSUES THERE IS SUBSTANTIAL COMPATIBILITY IN OUR PERSPECTIVE AND WHERE OUR INTERESTS DIVERGE, WE ARE DIMINISHING THE RISKS OF MISCALCULATION. IT IS IMPORTANT TO RECOGNIZE THAT CHINA'S PERCEPTION OF THE UNITED STATES, AS A STRONG AND RESOLUTE FORCE IN INTERNATIONAL EVENTS, IS AN IMPORTANT FACTOR IN SHAPING OUR RELATIONS. WE WILL KEEP CHINESE VIEWS IN MIND IN FRAMING OUR UNCLASSIFIED

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APPROACH TO IMPORTANT INTERNATIONAL QUESTIONS. BUT, EQUALLY, IF SO SUBLTE AND COMPLEX A RELATIONSHIP IS TO PROSPER, THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA MUST TAKE OUR CONCERNS AND PROBLEMS INTO ACCOUNT AS WELL. WE MUST DEAL WITH EACH OTHER ON THE BASIS OF EQUALITY AND MUTUAL BENEFIT--AND A CONTINUING RECOGNITION THAT OUR EVOLVING RELATIONSHIP IS IMPORTANT FOR GLOBAL STABILITY AND PROGRESS.

THE NEW RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA IS NOW AN ENDURING AND IMPORTANT FEATURE OF THE INTERNATIONAL SCENE. WE ARE DETERMINED TO WORK TO IMPROVE IT FURTHER. WHILE DIFFICULT ISSUES REMAIN, WE INTEND TO CONTINUE TO MOVE TOWARDS THE NORMALIZATION OF OUR RELATIONSHIP IN KEEPING WITH THE PRINCIPLES OF THE SHANGAI COMMUNIQUE.

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O 221210Z JUL 76 ZFF-4

FM USDEL SECRETARY IN SEATTLE

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE

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STATE FOR S/PRS:BROWN, AND M:EAGLEBURGER

WHITE HOUSE FOR SCOWCROFT AND NESSEN

ON THE KOREAN PENINSULA, TOO, WE ARE PREPARED TO MAKE SERIOUS EFFORTS TO EASE TENSIONS. IN RECENT YEARS NORTH KOREA AND ITS FRIENDS HAVE MOUNTED A MAJOR DIPLOMATIC CAMPAIGN--ESPECIALLY IN THE SO-CALLED NON-ALIGNED FORUMS AND THE UNITED NATIONS--TO ALTER THE INSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENTS OF THE ARMISTICE AGREEMENT WHICH ENDED HOSTILITIES IN KOREA 23 YEARS AGO, AND HELPS TO KEEP THE PEACE TODAY. THEY INSIST UPON UNCONDITIONAL DISSOLUTION OF THE UNITED NATIONS COMMAND, WHICH, TOGETHER WITH NORTH KOREA AND CHINA, IS A SIGNATORY TO THE ARMISTICE AGREEMENT. THEY HAVE GONE SO FAR AS TO CLAIM THAT IF THE COMMAND IS DISSOLVED, THE ARMISTICE AGREEMENT ITSELF WOULD CEASE TO EXIST. AT THE SAME TIME NORTH KOREA DEMANDS THE UNILATERAL WITHDRAWAL OF AMERICAN FORCES FROM KOREA. THEY PROPOSE THAT THE ISSUES OF PEACE AND SECURITY ON THE PENINSULA BE DISCUSSED IN BILATERAL TALKS WITH THE UNITED STATES ALONE, EXCLUDING THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA WHICH REPRESENTS TWO-THIRDS OF THE KOREAN POPULATION. NORTH KOREA'S PROPOSALS ARE DESIGNED NOT TO PROMOTE PEACE BUT TO ISOLATE OUR ALLY, TO PRECIPITATE UNILATERAL AMERICAN WITHDRAWAL AND TO DISSOLVE THE EXISTING LEGAL ARRANGEMENTS INTO AMORPHOUS GENERAL NEGOTIATIONS. THE UNITED STATES WILL NEVER ACCEPT SUCH PROPOSALS. NO NATION THAT TRULY BELIEVES IN PEACE SHOULD SUPPORT THEM; NO COUNTRY INTERESTED IN GENUINE NON-ALIGNMENT SHOULD LEND ITSELF TO SO ONE-SIDED AN APPROACH.

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WE DO NOT MAINTAIN THAT PRESENT ARRANGEMENTS IN THE KOREAN PENINSULA MUST REMAIN FOREVER FROZEN. ON THE CONTRARY, THE UNITED STATES FAVORS NEW NEGOTIATIONS TO PROMOTE SECURITY AND TO EASE TENSIONS THERE. WE ARE PREPARED TO DISCUSS A NEW LEGAL BASIS FOR THE EXISTING ARMISTICE. WE ARE ALSO READY TO REPLACE THE ARMISTICE WITH MORE PERMANENT ARRANGEMENTS. BUT THIS ADMINISTRATION CANNOT, AND WILL NOT, NEGOTIATE BEHIND THE BACK OF OUR SOUTH KOREAN ALLY OVER ISSUES WHICH AFFECT ITS VERY EXISTENCE. NOR WILL THE UNITED STATES AGREE TO TERMINATE THE UN COMMAND WITHOUT NEW ARRANGEMENTS WHICH PRESERVE THE INTEGRITY OF THE ARMISTICE AGREEMENT--THE ONLY EXISTING LEGAL ARRANGEMENT WHICH COMMITS THE PARTIES CONCERNED TO KEEP THE PEACE--OR WHICH ESTABLISH A NEW PERMANENT LEGAL BASIS. AND THE UNITED STATES WILL UNDERMINE STABILITY AND HOPES FOR NEGOTIATION BY WITHDRAWING ITS FORCES UNILATERALLY. THE UNITED STATES' POSITION WITH RESPECT TO KOREA IS CLEAR: --FIRST, WE URGE A RESUMPTION OF SERIOUS DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN NORTH AND SOUTH KOREA.

SECOND, IF NORTH KOREA'S ALLIES ARE PREPARED TO  
IMPROVE THEIR RELATIONS WITH SOUTH KOREA, THEN  
AND ONLY THEN, WILL WE BE PREPARED TO TAKE SIMILAR  
STEPS TOWARDS NORTH KOREA.

--THIRD, WE CONTINUE TO SUPPORT PROPOSALS THAT  
THE UNITED NATIONS OPEN ITS DOORS TO FULL  
MEMBERSHIP FOR SOUTH AND NORTH KOREA WITHOUT  
PREJUDICE TO THEIR EVENTUAL REUNIFICATION.

--FINALLY, WE ARE PREPARED TO NEGOTIATE A NEW  
BASIS FOR THE ARMISTICE OR TO REPLACE IT WITH  
MORE PERMANENT ARRANGEMENTS IN ANY FORM  
ACCEPTABLE TO ALL THE PARTIES.

IN THIS SPIRIT, WE PROPOSED LAST SEPTEMBER A CONFERENCE  
INCLUDING NORTH AND SOUTH KOREA, THE UNITED STATES AND THE  
PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA--THE PARTIES MOST IMMEDIATELY  
CONCERNED--TO DISCUSS WAYS OF PRESERVING THE ARMISTICE  
AGREEMENT AND OF REDUCING TENSIONS IN KOREA. WE NOTED THAT IN  
SUCH A MEETING WE WOULD BE READY TO EXPLORE POSSIBILITIES FOR A  
LARGER CONFERENCE TO NEGOTIATE MORE FUNDAMENTAL AND DURABLE  
ARRANGEMENTS.

TODAY, PRESIDENT FORD HAS ASKED ME TO CALL AGAIN FOR  
SUCH A CONFERENCE.

SPECIFICALLY, THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT IS PREPARED  
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TO MEET WITH THE SOUTH KOREA, NORTH KOREA AND THE PEOPLE'S  
REPUBLIC OF CHINA DURING THE COMING SESSION OF THE UNITED NATIONS  
GENERAL ASSEMBLY. WE PROPOSE NEW YORK, BUT WE ARE READY  
TO CONSIDER SOME OTHER MUTUALLY AGREEABLE PLACE. WE ARE WILLING  
TO BEGIN IMMEDIATE DISCUSSIONS ON ISSUES OF PROCEDURE AND  
SITE. SUCH A CONFERENCE COULD PROVIDE A NEW LEGAL STRUCTURE FOR  
THE ARMISTICE IF THE PARTIES AGREE. IT COULD REPLACE IT WITH MORE  
PERMANENT ARRANGEMENTS. IT COULD EASE TENSIONS THROUGHOUT ASIA.

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O 221240Z JUL 76 ZFF-4  
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STATE FOR S/PRS:BROWN, AND M:EAGLEBURGER

WHITE HOUSE FOR SCOWCROFT AND NESSEN

WE URGE OTHER PARTIES TO RESPOND AFFIRMATIVELY. ANY  
NATION GENUINELY INTERESTED IN PEACE ON THE PENINSULA SHOULD BE  
PREPARED TO SIT DOWN AND TALK WITH THE OTHER PARTIES ON WAYS  
TO IMPROVE THE EXISTING SITUATION.

SOUTHEAST ASIA, AS MUCH AS NORTHEAST ASIA, REQUIRES  
OUR CARFEFUL ATTENTION. INDOCHINA, AN ARENA OF WAR FOR GENERATIONS,  
HAS YET TO FIND A POSITIVE AND PEACEFUL ROLE. VIETNAM HAS BEEN  
UNIFIED BY FORCE, PRODUCING A NEW AND STRONG POWER IN THE  
REGION, AND COMMUNIST REGIMES HAVE TAKEN OVER IN LAOS AND  
CAMBODIA. THE RELATIONS OF THE INDOCHINESE STATES WITH ONE  
ANOTHER ARE UNSETTLED AND UNCLEAR, AS ARE HANOI'S LONGER TERM  
AMBTIONS. OUR POLICY IS DESIGNED TO BOLSTER THE INDEPENDENCE  
OF OUR FRIENDS, ENCOURAGE THE RESTRAINT OF FORMER FOES, AND  
HELP CHART A MORE CONSTRUCTIVE PATTERN OF RELATIONS WITHIN THE  
REGION.

WE HAVE SAID ON MANY OCCASIONS THAT FOR US THE INDOCHINA  
WAR IS OVER. WE ARE PREPARED TO LOOK TO THE FUTURE; WE ARE  
WILLING TO DISCUSS OUTSTANDING ISSUES; WE STAND READY TO  
RECIPROCATATE GESTURES OF GOOD WILL. WE HAVE CONVEYED OUR WILLINGNESS  
TO OPEN DISCUSSIONS WITH THE VIETNAMESE AUTHORITIES, WITH  
BOTH SIDES FREE TO RAISE ANY ISSUES THEY WISH.

FOR US THE AMERICANS MISSING IN ACTION REMAIN THE  
PRINCIPAL CONCERN. LET THERE BE NO MISTAKE: THERE CAN BE NO  
PROGRESS TOWARD IMPROVED RELATIONS WITH HANOI WITHOUT A WHOLLY  
SATISFACTORY ACCOUNTING FOR THESE MEN. NOR WILL WE YIELD TO  
CYNICAL EFFORTS TO USE THE ANGUISH OF AMERICAN FAMILIES TO  
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EXTORT ECONOMIC AID. IF THE VIETNAMESE MEET OUR CONCERNS FOR  
THE MISSING IN ACTION, AND EXHIBIT RESTRAINT TOWARD THEIR  
NEIGHBORS, THEY WILL FIND US READY TO RECIPROCATATE AND TO JOIN  
IN THE SEARCH FOR WAYS TO TURN A NEW PAGE IN OUR RELATIONS.  
NEW PATTERNS OF COOPERATION  
BEYOND SECURITY, BEYOND THE IMPEERATIVE OF EASING  
TENSIONS, LIES A NEW DIMENSION OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS--TO  
HELP SHAPE GLOBAL STRUCTURE THAT RESPONDS TO THE ASPIRATIONS  
OF PEOPLES AND ASSURES OUR CHILDREN A WORLD OF PROSPERITY,  
JUSTICE AND HOPE. WE MUST MEET THIS CHALLENGE BECAUSE:  
--THERE CANNOT BE ENDURING TRANQUILITY IN A WORLD

SCARRED BY INJUSTICE, RESENTMENT AND DEPRIVATION;  
--THERE CANNOT BE ASSURED PROSPERITY IN A WORLD OF  
ECONOMIC WARFARE AND FAILED DEVELOPMENT; AND  
--THERE CANNOT BE AN ENDURING INTERNATIONAL ORDER IN  
A WORLD IN WHICH MILLIONS ARE ESTRANGED FROM  
DECISIONS AND PRACTICES WHICH DETERMINE THEIR  
NATIONAL WELL-BEING.

AS THE WORLD'S STRONGEST ECONOMY, THE UNITED STATES HAS  
ACCEPTED RESPONSIBILITY FOR LEADERSHIP IN THIS AGENDA OF  
INTERDEPENDENCE. IN MANY INTERNATIONAL FORUMS OVER SEVERAL  
YEARS, WE HAVE PUT FORTH COMPREHENSIVE INITIATIVES TO PRODUCE  
CONCRETE PROGRESS ON THE MOST COMPELLING ISSUES OF OUR  
INTERDEPENDENT WORLD: FOOD, ENERGY, COMMODITIES, TRADE,  
TECHNOLOGY, THE ENVIRONMENT, AND THE USES OF MANKIND'S LAST  
FRONTIERS, THE OCEANS AND OUTER SPACE.  
NOWHERE ARE THE POSSIBILITIES AND BENEFITS OF ECONOMIC  
COOPERATION GREATER THAN IN ASIA. THE RECORD OF DEVELOPING  
COUNTRIES IN ASIA IS EXTRAORDINARY. MOST GREW AT ANNUAL RATES  
OF SIX TO SEVEN PERCENT A YEAR FOR THE ENTIRE DECADE PRIOR TO THE  
1973 OIL EMBARGO; ASIAN ECONOMIES HAVE FLOURISHED, EVEN IN THE  
FACE OF GLOBAL RECESSION.

THE SECRET OF THEIR ECONOMIC PERFORMANCE IS NO MYSTERY.  
RICH AND NATURAL RESOURCES, FERTILE LAND, AND INDUSTRIOUS PEOPLE,  
EAST ASIA--WITH FEW EXCEPTIONS--IS NOT BURDENED WITH  
MASSIVE OVERPOPULATION. MOST COUNTRIES IN THE AREA POSSESS  
TALENTED ENTREPRENEURS AND SKILLED ADMINISTRATORS; MOST  
GOVERNMENTS HAVE REJECTED THE CONFINING STRAITJACKET OF STATIST  
ECONOMIC PRACTICES; VIRTUALLY ALL PROVIDE A HOSPITABLE CLIMATE  
FOR FOREIGN INVESTMENT.

IF GROWTH AND VITALITY ARE A COMMON FEATURE, THE  
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DEVELOPING NATIONS OF ASIA OTHERWISE REFLECT A CONSIDERABLE  
DIVERSITY. SOME, DESPITE ABUNDANT RESOURCES, REMAIN AMONG THE  
WORLD'S POOREST IN TERMS OF PER CAPITA INCOME. OTHERS ARE  
RAPIDLY APPROACHING THE RANKS OF THE ADVANCED NATIONS. SOME  
EXPORT PRINCIPALLY RAW MATERIALS AND FOODSTUFFS, WHILE OTHERS  
HAVE JOINED JAPAN AS INDUSTRIAL WORKSHOPS FOR THE WORLD.  
ALTHOUGH THE IMPULSE FOR REGIONAL INTEGRATION IS  
APPARENT, THE ASIAN-PACIFIC MARKET ECONOMY IS OPEN AND  
ACCESSIBLE TO THE WORLD. THE UNITED STATES, JAPAN, AND OTHERS  
SUPPLY CAPITAL, MARKETS, MANAGEMENT SKILLS, AND TECHNOLOGY.  
WE IN TURN OBTAIN FROM THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES OF ASIA RELIABLE  
SUPPLIES OF IMPORTANT RAW MATERIALS, FAIR TREATMENT OF OUR  
INVESTMENTS, AND EXPANDING MARKETS FOR OUR TRADE.

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FM USDEL SECRETARY IN SEATTLE

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STATE FOR S/PRS:BROWN, AND M:EAGLEBURGER

WHITE HOUSE FOR SCOWCRAFT AND NESSEN

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT DOES NOT AUTOMATICALLY ENSURE  
TRANQUILITY BETWEEN STATES OR WITHIN THEM. BUT IT CAN ENHANCE  
THE ABILITY OF GOVERNMENTS TO OBTAIN PUBLIC SUPPORT, STRENGTHEN  
THE LEGITIMACY OF INSTITUTIONS, AND CONSOLIDATE NATIONAL  
INDEPENDENCE. THESE FACTORS ARE OF PARTICULAR IMPORTANCE FOR  
ASIAN NATIONS BESET--AS THEY OFTEN ARE--BY THE PROBLEMS OF  
NATION BUILDING AND DOMESTIC DISSIDENCE.  
COOPERATIVE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE INDUSTRIALIZED NATIONS  
AND THE DEVELOPING NATIONS OF ASIA ARE BOTH INESCAPABLE AND VITAL.  
THE UNITED STATES AND THE DEVELOPING NATIONS OF ASIA  
SHARE IMPORTANT INTERESTS:  
--WE SHOULD BOTH VALUE AN INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC  
SYSTEM WHICH ENSURES STEADY, NON-INFLATIONARY  
GROWTH AND EXPANDS THE OPPORTUNITIES OF OUR  
CITIZENS.  
--WE MUST BOTH RECOGNIZE THAT IF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT  
IS TO STRENGTHEN STABILITY, IT MUST ENHANCE NATIONAL  
SELF-RELIANCE. THE DEVELOPING NATIONS OF ASIA  
NEED CONCESSIONAL FOREIGN ASSISTANCE FAR LESS THAN  
SUPPORT FOR THEIR EFFORTS TO PARTICIPATE IN THE  
INTERNATIONAL ECONOMY ON A MORE EQUAL FOOTING.  
--WE MUST DEAL WITH EACH OTHER ON THE BASIS OF  
PARITY AND DIGNITY, SEEKING RESPONSIBLE PROGRESS  
ON ISSUES, TO LIBERALIZE TRADE, TO EXPAND INVESTMENT  
OPPORTUNITIES, AND TO TRANSFER TECHNOLOGY.  
--WE MUST COOPERATE TO IMPROVE THE EFFECTIVENESS OF

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ESTABLISHED INSTITUTIONS SUCH AS THE ASIAN DEVELOPMENT BANK. WE MUST BE READY TO CREATE NEW INSTRUMENTS--FOR EXAMPLE, THE PROPOSED INTERNATIONAL RESOURCES BANK--TO ADDRESS THE NEW RANGE OF ISSUES IN THE FIELD OF COMMODITIES. THE NATIONS BORDERING THE PACIFIC HAVE AN OPPORTUNITY TO USHER IN AN EPOCH OF COOPERATION WHICH WILL ENHANCE THE PROSPERITY OF THEIR PEOPLES AND GIVE AN IMPETUS TO THE WELL-BEING OF MANKIND. AMERICA'S STRENGTH AND SPIRIT THREE TIMES IN THE PAST THIRTY-FIVE YEARS MANY THOUSANDS OF AMERICAN LIVES HAVE BEEN LOST IN WARS ON THE ASIAN CONTINENT. FOR US WORLD WAR II BEGAN, AND ENDED, THERE. A BLATANT COMMUNIST ATTEMPT TO CONQUER KOREA WAS DEFEATED THERE. AND THE TRAGEDY OF VIETNAM, WITH ITS 50,000 DEAD AND THE WAVE OF BITTERNESS IT CREATED HERE AT HOME, WAS PLAYED OUT THERE. IT MUST NOT HAPPEN AGAIN. IT WILL NOT HAPPEN AGAIN IF AMERICA'S POLICY, PROFITING FROM THE PAST, TAKES CHARGE OF ITS FUTURE, MAKING AGGRESSION TOO COSTLY TO ATTEMPT AND PEACE TOO TEMPTING TO REJECT. OUR GREATEST CHALLENGE ABROAD IS TO CONTINUE TO ACT ON THE KNOWLEDGE THAT NEITHER PEACE NOR PROSPERITY--FOR OURSELVES OR ANYONE ELSE ON OUR SMALL PLANET--IS POSSIBLE WITHOUT THE WISDOM, AND THE CONTINUING ACTIVE INVOLVEMENT OF THE UNITED STATES. OUR SIZE, OUR ECONOMY, OUR STRENGTH AND OUR PRINCIPLES LEAVE US NO ALTERNATIVE BUT TO BE CONCERNED WITH EVENTS IN THE WORLD AROUND US. OUR GREATEST FOREIGN POLICY NEED AT HOME IS STEADINESS, COHESION, AND A REALIZATION THAT IN SHAPING FOREIGN POLICY WE ARE ENGAGED IN AN ENTERPRISE BEYOND PARTY AND NOT BOUNDED BY OUR ELECTORAL CYCLES. TODAY, AMERICANS--OF WHATEVER PARTY OR POLITICAL CONVICTION--CAN HAVE CONFIDENCE THAT THEIR COUNTRY, AS ALWAYS, HAS THE SUBSTANCE AND THE STRENGTH TO DO ITS DUTY: --WE HAVE THE MILITARY AND ECONOMIC POWER TOGETHER WITH OUR ALLIES TO MAINTAIN THE BALANCE OF STABILITY UPON WHICH GLOBAL PEACE MUST REST. --WE HAVE THE WISDOM TO SEE THAT AN ENDURING PEACE REQUIRES DEDICATED AND REALISTIC MEASURES TO REDUCE TENSION. --AND WE HAVE THE VISION TO FASHION NEW RELATIONSHIPS AMONG ALL NATIONS IN AN INTERDEPENDENT WORLD, TO WORK TOWARD A TRUE AND LASTING WORLD COMMUNITY.

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THE BOND BETWEEN AMERICA'S SPIRIT AND AMERICA'S ACHIEVEMENT, BETWEEN HER COURAGE AND HER RESPONSIBILITY WAS EXPRESSED BY A GREAT POET HERE IN SEATTLE. AS THEODORE ROETHKE SAID:

"I FEEL MY FATE IN WHAT I CANNOT FEAR.  
I LEARN BY GOING WHERE I HAVE TO GO."

THAT IS THE AMERICAN WAY. WE ARE A PEOPLE ACCUSTOMED  
TO, AND CAPABLE OF, FORGING OUR OWN DESTINY. WE ARE READY, AS  
AMERICANS ALWAYS HAVE BEEN READY, TO FACE THE FUTURE WITHOUT  
FEAR. WE SHALL GO WHERE WE HAVE TO GO. WE SHALL DO WHAT WE  
HAVE TO DO.  
END TEXT.  
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